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JORDANIAN GOVERNMENT RESPONSE TO MASS REFUGEE INFLUXES

An honors paper submitted to the Department of Political Science and International Affairs
of the University of Mary Washington
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for Departmental Honors

Anne Charles Cutting

April 2016

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Anne Charles Cutting
(digital signature)

04/27/16

Jordanian Government Response to Mass Refugee Influxes

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Introduction

As of 2014, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) estimates that the number of refugees has exceeded 50 million people in the post-World War II era.¹ These are people who are fleeing from internal conflicts, abusive, corrupt governments, economic hardships, and social discrimination. The current global refugee crisis affects countless third parties, including state leaders, host government structures, economic stability, and individuals other than the refugees themselves. The crisis has the potential to influence the way the international community will approach future immigration issues, economic policy, and political relationships. Countries that host these refugees must make key decisions regarding how refugee influxes will impact their economic, political, and civil stability. Jordan, situated in a conflict-ridden region, has manifested itself as a refugee state, for it has dealt with refugee influxes since the United Nations (UN) established Israel as a state in 1948. Since 1948, Jordan has confronted several refugee influxes, including those fleeing from Palestine, Iraq, and Syria.

The current Syrian refugee crisis in Jordan deems this topic necessary for discussion and thorough evaluation because it threatens Jordan's economic and political stability. Amnesty International reported in February 2016 that Jordan hosts over 635,000 Syrian refugees in addition to those already in the country. Jordan finds it difficult to provide education to Syrian children as well as its own population, so the Jordanian Ministry of Education has begun a double-shift school system. This new school system "groups Jordanian and Syrian refugee students separately, where the Jordanians attend school in the morning shift, and the Syrians go

¹ UNHCR, "10 Facts about Current Refugee Crises Worldwide," August 7, 2014, UNHCR: The UN Refugee Agency, accessed April 13, 2016, <http://www.unhcr.ie/news/irish-story/10-facts-about-current-refugee-crises-worldwide>.

to school in the afternoon shift.”² The Jordanian monarchy allowed the British Council, an international organization that promotes educational opportunities, to train Jordanian teachers to make their lessons more effective to cope with and to place the educational needs of Syrian children at the forefront of response policy.³ This education shortage is an example of the types of issues that confront the Jordan government. Other limiting factors that Jordan faces include, water shortages, residential shortages, health care access, political unrest, et cetera.

In December of 2015, there were over one million people who were either refugees or asylum-seekers in Jordan, which had a population of 8,117,564 at the time. Jordan’s long history of confronting mass refugee influxes has conditioned its government to respond in various ways. Economic, political, and humanitarian responsibility each had a part in influencing the Jordanian government’s response to the refugee influxes. For instance, King Abdullah I (1946-1951), the first king of independent Jordan, extended citizenship rights to Palestinians fleeing from Israeli occupation in 1948.⁴ Furthermore, Abdullah I’s grandson, King Hussein (1952-1999), recalled the pan-Arab movement and felt a humanitarian responsibility to Arabs. King Hussein’s son, King Abdullah II (1999-present) continued this generational tolerance and acceptance of refugees. Since assuming the throne in 1999, his government has had to navigate through multiple mass refugee influxes—Iraqis in the 1990s and 2000s and Syrians beginning in 2011. Jordan is, in a sense, a refugee state.

This paper demonstrates that, though Jordan’s government responses have not always been accepting and tolerant, the government has *consistently* reverted back to positive policy

² Rua’a Alameri, “Syrian refugees in ‘double-shift’ Jordan schools face obstacles,” *Al Arabiya English*, April 3, 2016, accessed April 15, 2016, <http://english.alarabiya.net/en/perspective/features/2016/04/03/Syrian-refugees-in-double-shift-Jordan-schools-face-obstacles-.html>.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Abdullah I was Emir of Transjordan from 1921-1946 before Jordan gained its independence.

responses. These positive policy responses are determined through the examination of Karen Jacobsen's host government response model, which she outlines in her paper, "Factors Influencing the Policy Responses of Host Governments to Mass Refugee Influxes."⁵ Her criteria for determining the policy type that a host government decides to pursue are outlined in the following sections. This paper will compare Jordan's multiple refugee influxes to Jacobsen's government response model. Determining Jordan's government response will be useful in predicting future Jordanian response as it continues to confront the Syrian refugee crisis. In addition, this study highlights possible policies that governments other than Jordan may choose to pursue if they are faced with mass refugee influxes. It is a tool which policymakers and governments alike can utilize to gain a more comprehensive perspective on the implications and constraints that surround government absorption of refugees.

What Is a Refugee?

Before delving into Jacobsen's model on host government responses as it applies to the Jordanian case, it is important to outline and clearly define who qualifies as a "refugee" under international law. In 1948, the UN General Assembly drafted and implemented resolution 217A, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This document lays out fundamental human rights that the international community will "universally [protect]."⁶ Article 14 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is thus:

1. Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.

⁵ This article was published in *International Migration Review*. Karen Jacobsen is a research professor at The Fletcher School of international studies at Tufts University. Her research interests are refugee and migration issues, humanitarian assistance, and developing countries.

⁶ United Nations General Assembly, "Universal Declaration of Human Rights," United Nations, December 10, 1948, accessed April 15, 2016, http://www.ohchr.org/EN/UDHR/Documents/UDHR_Translations/eng.pdf.

2. This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.⁷

Article 14 is the first formalized, legal basis for refugees as autonomous entities in and of themselves. Since they have a right to seek and to enjoy this asylum, asylum comes with certain assumptions as to what a safe haven entails. Article 14 is vague as to the rights that host countries should afford refugees upon allowing them to cross their borders.

Therefore, the UN drafted the 1951 Refugee Convention, which clearly defined a refugee as someone “unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion.”⁸ Having this refugee status grants refugees certain rights, which the Convention’s signatories must abide by. These rights include but are not limited to the right to employment, housing, education, and an equal share of resources in short supply. The 1951 Convention “cover[ed] only those persons who have become refugees as a result of events occurring before 1 January 1951,” meaning that people displaced in various events after 1951 are not covered under this Convention.

However, the United Nations added the 1967 Protocol so that all refugees are guaranteed the same rights under the Convention regardless of the timeline. The 1951 Convention and the 1967 Protocol are at the center of international law concerning refugees.

Jordan on Refugees

Since this study focuses on Jordan’s government policies in particular, it is key to point out that Jordan is not a signatory to either the 1951 Convention or to the 1967 Protocol. The fact that Jordan is not a member of these pivotal pieces of international law

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ United Nations, “Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees,” United Nations, accessed April 15, 2016, <http://www.unhcr.org/3b66c2aa10.html>.

is especially jarring since it has such a long history of refugee relations. However, Jordan has specific refugee policy written into its domestic legal system, which leaves it flexible to change. For instance, article 21 of the Jordanian Constitution states:

- (i) Political refugees shall not be extradited on account of their political beliefs or for their defence of liberty.
- (ii) Extradition of ordinary criminals shall be regulated by international agreements and laws.⁹

This flexibility could allow Jordan to change its refugee regulations rather quickly to adapt to modern refugee influxes.

Though Jordan is not a signatory to the 1951 Convention and its protocol, it has incorporated refugee relations and stipulations into its legal framework. Jordan has a system in place that is meant to address issues that may arise with a mass refugee influx. Broadly, Jordan has implemented both restrictive and receptive policies concerning refugees. For instance, Jordan makes gaining a residency permit relatively difficult, for it granted only about 30 percent of Iraqi refugees residency permits.¹⁰ This obstacle, in turn, makes it even more difficult for refugees to gain work permits that would help them assimilate into Jordanian society. King Abdullah II, the current Jordanian monarch, however, has expressed his willingness to accept and accommodate the most recent refugees—those fleeing the Syrian Civil War. The king made a few statements to that effect, including that “the kingdom’s public services has been under strain after Jordan spent 25 percent of the state budget on helping refugees.”¹¹ This expenditure on refugees demonstrates

⁹ Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, “The Constitution of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan: Rights and Duties of Jordanians,” accessed April 16, 2016, http://www.kinghussein.gov.jo/constitution_jo.html.

¹⁰ James Emanuel, “Discriminatory Nationality Laws in Jordan and Their Effect on Mixed Refugee Families,” University of Notre Dame: The Law School, Spring 2012, accessed April 16, 2016, <http://www3.nd.edu/~ndlaw/prog-human-rights/student-research-papers/NationalityLawsInJordan.pdf>.

¹¹ Vishakha Sonawane, “Jordan’s King Abdullah II Says Citizens At ‘Boiling Point’ Over Syrian Refugees Influx: Report,” February 2, 2016, *International Business Times*, accessed April 16, 2016, <http://www.ibtimes.com/jordans-king-abdullah-ii-says-citizens-boiling-point-over-syrian-refugees-influx-2289688>.

Jordan's continued commitment to easing the costs associated with resource shortages.¹² This study will determine whether Jordan has and continues to implement positive or negative refugee policies according to Karen Jacobsen's model on government responses to refugee influxes.

Theory

Relevant Models

The topic of government crisis management has been a point of discussion for scholars and politicians for decades, as they seek to understand which are the preferred methods to handle dire situations. Academics and policymakers have devised several general models for state crisis management, isolating patterns and trends. Uriel Rosenthal, a Dutch politician and former Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Alexander Kouzmin, a professor at the University of Western Sydney, state that there are five heuristic steps of government decision-making. Their study covers various types of crises, including natural disasters, nuclear emergencies, terrorist attacks, and violent demonstrations. These steps include evaluating if a threat exists to the socio-political system in the host country; determining a necessity to respond to the threat; specifying the need of government intervention based on capacity and responsibility of the political and bureaucratic authorities; determining a temporal response; transitioning from external observations of the threat to action. This model does not suggest, as Rosenthal and Kouzmin explicitly point out, that governments are a benevolent influence. The government's credibility and legitimacy are at risk because "governments may make decisions to unduly aggravate the crisis... [and] governmental authorities may lack physical courage" to manage the crisis.¹³ With these general steps,

¹² The Syrian refugee crisis will be detailed in subsequent sections.

¹³ Uriel Rosenthal and Alexander Kouzmin, "Crises and Crisis Management: Toward Comprehensive Government Decision Making," *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 7, no. 2 (April 1997): 287.

Rosenthal and Kouzmin have outlined loose trends that occur at the state level of crisis management.

Rosenthal and Kouzmin's model represents one of the simpler and more applicable ways that governments deal with crises. Michael Brecher, a professor focused on the study of the theory of international crises at McGill University, presents a stress-coping-choice model of state behavior in *international* crises. He applies his model to various international crises, including the Korean War and the Cuban Missile Crisis. Brecher's independent variable is "stress induced by perceptions of value threat, time pressure, and the probability of war."¹⁴ His dependent variable is the government's choice. An environmental change (the crisis) creates stress, which then leads to coping while the government attempts to isolate a way to handle the crisis. Coping is Brecher's intervening variable where the government engages in information analysis, consultation, decisional forums, and discussions of alternatives. After the government has gone through the coping phase, it must make a choice.

Brecher defines a threat as being "the anticipation of harm of some kind, an anticipation that is created by the presence of certain stimulus cues signifying to the individual [or group] that there is to be an experience of harm."¹⁵ His model is more centered in a militaristic context, like the Cuban Missile Crisis and the Korean War, but it remains useful as an analysis of international crises. Brecher split the time portion of his model into three periods: precrisis, crisis, and postcrisis. An "increase in perceived threat on the part of decision makers" marks the precrisis period, beginning the threat evaluation process among state authorities. All three characteristics of a crisis are present in the crisis period—a rise in perceived threat, the need to act in a timely fashion, and a high probability of military involvement. The post crisis period

¹⁴ Brecher, 446.

¹⁵ Ibid., 453.

“begins with an observable decline in intensity of one or more of the three perceptual conditions,”¹⁶ and it leads to the end of the crisis. The crisis ends in this stage because “a decision or cluster of choices in the postcrisis period will lead to a situational change”¹⁷ that no longer stresses the three conditions of a crisis. This model, largely based on military involvement, is useful to analyze because it adds an international framework through which to study crisis management. It allows government officials to map out other states’ tentative actions and their processes for carrying out those actions.

The Jacobsen Model

The Rosenthal and the Brecher models provide general frameworks for government decision-making. However, there are very few studies that have discussed refugee crises from the host government’s perspective. Karen Jacobsen, a migration research professor at Tufts University, conducted a study to isolate the most prominent factors that influence policy responses of governments hosting refugee influxes. Jacobsen tends to focus on refugee situations in developing countries. In the *International Migration Review*, Jacobsen published “Factors Influencing the Policy Responses of Host Government to Mass Refugee Influxes,” which seeks to understand “policy responses of asylum governments to mass influxes of refugees.”¹⁸ She particularly wanted to isolate the reasons why less developed host governments respond generously or restrictively.

First, it is necessary to define key terms in Jacobsen’s research. A *refugee influx* “refers to people who flee their country *en masse*...within a relatively short period (a few years)...large numbers (thousands)...[as a result of] civil war and insurgency, ethnic or religious persecution,

¹⁶ Ibid., 457.

¹⁷ Ibid., 460.

¹⁸ Karen Jacobsen, “Factors Influencing the Policy Responses of Host Governments to Mass Refugee Influxes,” *The International Migration Review* 30, no. 3 (Autumn 1996): 655.

environmental disaster, and famine.”¹⁹ A *government response* “refers to actions (or inactions) taken by the government and other state institutions that include specific refugee policies, military responses, unofficial actions, and policy implementation.”²⁰

According to Jacobsen’s model, there are three sources of pressure on host government refugee decision-making. The first source of pressure is from “institutions and individuals in the international community which are concerned with the welfare of refugees.”²¹ The primary institution is the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), which can, along with individuals and other institutions, apply pressure by publicizing negative aspects of a government’s current policies toward refugees and straining diplomatic positions concerning the refugee crisis. The second, and most affected, source of pressure is the local community receiving the refugee influx. The local community’s response to a refugee influx determines “the extent to which the community is willing and able to absorb”²² the refugees. This is a community’s *absorption capacity*, and it consists of structural ability and willingness of the community. Economic capacity (land availability, employment systems, infrastructure, etc.) and international assistance determine structural ability. Cultural attitudes towards refugees, perceived length of residence, and historical experiences with refugees determine the willingness aspect of a community’s absorption capacity.²³ The third source of pressure on host governments is from the refugees themselves. They can threaten to overwhelm the host government through sheer numbers and will power concerning treatment and accommodation from the host country. Often, refugees can refer to the UNHCR, lawyers, non-profits, and other international entities

¹⁹ Ibid., 657.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid., 666.

²³ Ibid.

devoted to refugee welfare.²⁴ These three forms of pressure that can influence a host government lead it to react to the refugee crisis in three ways.

Jacobsen chooses to outline the choices of host governments in a simple manner; she states that they only have three types of choices to make regarding a refugee influx. They can do nothing, react negatively, or react positively. She acknowledges that government decisions are not black and white and are, therefore, a mixture of all three choice types. By doing nothing the government “suggests that it either lacks the capacity for action, is unwilling to act, or does not consider the appearance of refugees as a significant matter for its agenda.”²⁵ The positive and negative reactions are more complex than the choice type of doing nothing. This is where policy decisions can neither be purely positive nor purely negative. However, Jacobsen identifies the most common and most likely policies that would fall under each category. Those responses are then broken down into three policy types: legal-bureaucratic, international refugee organizations (IROs), and the admission and treatment of refugees.²⁶ Broadly, positive responses include defining asylum seekers as refugees, designating a department in the state to deal with refugees, cooperate with IROs, or considering refugees for local settlement or permanent residency.²⁷ Negative responses include placing restrictions on movements and employment of refugees, forcing refugees to live in camps, and having no proper procedures for the determination of refugee status.

Justification for the Jacobsen Model

In this study, the Jacobsen model will provide the clearest and most concise analysis of Jordan’s numerous refugee crises since the first wave of Palestinians in 1948 and in 1967. Using

²⁴ Ibid., 657.

²⁵ Ibid., 658.

²⁶ See Appendix A for a table detailing Jacobsen’s possible state responses to refugee influxes.

²⁷ Jacobsen, 659.

her model, this study will analyze the Jordanian monarchy's reactions to refugee crises. Since most host governments conduct refugee crisis management with a mixture of positive and negative responses, this model will aid in determining which type of response Jordan generally adopts. There is an underlying causal chain in this method of analysis, for the refugee crisis leads to a government response; Jordan has never taken the "do nothing" policy choice. That government response is the dependent variable in this study. The government response will be considered over various time periods, with different refugee influxes, then the response will be examined as a whole to draw conclusions about Jordan's general response patterns. The primary independent variables will be the factors that most affect Jordan's response to refugee influxes. Following the identification of the factors that influence the government's decisions, whether humanitarian, political, or practical, there will be an evaluation of the effects of the decisions.

Three sources of pressure → government reaction

Jacobsen's model has outlined this causal chain, and it will be applied to the Jordanian case with particular attention placed on the Palestinian, Iraqi, and Syrian refugees. The evolution of Jordan's decision making will be extrapolated from these cases as examples of Jordan's long term refugee history. Jacobsen's model is useful because it is simple, and it provides a framework that is focused on refugee influxes in less developed countries. Her model devises a set of clear, general questions that one can ask while examining a specific refugee crisis. These questions require mostly "yes" or "no" answers—with a few exceptions added for clarity. Through quantifying number of "yes" answers in the positive policy categories, one can make a weighted judgment as to which policy type a host government has implemented—non-reactive,

positive, or negative. In addition, Jacobsen specifically addresses some of Jordan's problems with handling the refugee influxes, such as its slack of structural ability. It does not however, describe Jordan explicitly, which allows for this study to trace the evolution of refugee policies over Jordan's long history of migrant crises due to its generality. Whether the Jordanian government responds positively or negatively to the current refugee crisis will help determine the type of intention behind Jordan's strategies (political, economic, or humanitarian).

This paper will adapt her model to have a more thorough discussion of the effects of refugee influxes on the Jordanian government. In some situations, a host government may have to learn from its failures and modify its responses accordingly. For example, Jordan's first wave of Palestinian refugees in 1948 prepared it for the 1967 wave of Palestinians because it allowed the government to prepare and predict the types of problems that arise from refugee influxes, such as food and housing shortages. Jacobsen's model will illuminate how the Jordanian government has responded to mass refugee influxes throughout its history. The intentions and influences behind Jordan's refugee policy will be based on the positive or negative responses and which ones Jordan picks most often.

The Applied Jacobsen Model

The First Palestinian Wave (1948)

May 15, 1948 is known as Nakba Day to millions of Palestinians. Nakba Day marks the point in the 1948 Arab-Israeli conflict where 726,000 Palestinians either fled or a new Israeli state expelled them from their territories.²⁸²⁹ The Second Session of the United Nations General Assembly mandated the "partition of Palestine into Jewish and Arab states," causing the exodus

²⁸ Benny Morris, *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem Revisited* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 602.

²⁹ This is the United Nations estimate. The numbers have been inflated by host governments and the Israeli government.

of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians to surrounding areas—Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan.³⁰ University of Akron professor, Ghazi Falah, believes that the events that led to Nakba Day “served as catalytic agents for the transformation of Palestine’s cultural landscape”³¹ through violence and forced displacement. This is one of the many perspectives that surround the Arab-Israeli conflict. Some scholars and politicians frame the exodus of the Palestinians as if they fled at the requests of other Arab countries—like Jordan.³² While the origins of this exodus are significant and relevant, it remains that Jordan bore massive numbers of Palestinian refugees. As of July 1, 2014, there were 2,097,338 Palestinian refugees in Jordan (total population 6,607,000) registered with the United Nations (UN).³³ Many of the Palestinians in Jordan are descendants of those from the 1948 and the 1967 refugee influxes, making them second and third generation Palestinians.

A brief background on the events that led to the first wave of Palestinians that entered Jordan in the years following 1948 is necessary to put the refugee crisis into perspective. After the UN passed the resolution in 1947 that would allow for the creation of a Jewish state, “Zionist leaders feared such numbers of non-Jews would threaten the stability of the new state both militarily—and socially—insofar as a substantial Muslim and Christian minority would challenge the new state’s Jewish character.”³⁴ The creation of Israel is the ultimate root of the hostilities between the Arabs and the Jews. It is the foundation of the Palestinian refugee crisis

³⁰ UNRWA, “The Flight: 1948,” UNRWA, January 17, 2010, accessed March 1, 2016, <http://www.unrwa.org/galleries/photos/flight-1948>.

³¹ Ghazi Falah, “The 1948 Israeli-Palestinian War and Its Aftermath: The Transformation and De-Signification of Palestine’s Cultural Landscape,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 86 no. 2 (June 1996): 281.

³² *Ibid.*, 258.

³³ UNRWA, “Where We Work: Jordan,” July 1, 2014, accessed March 1, 2016, <http://www.unrwa.org/where-we-work/jordan>.

³⁴ Simha Flapan, “The Palestinian Exodus of 1948,” *Journal of Palestine Studies* 16, no. 4 (Summer 1987): 3.

that Jordan experienced after 1948. Huge numbers of Palestinians began to leave their homes to seek refuge elsewhere. There are not reliable and concrete estimates of how many of the refugees from the 1948 wave came to Jordan; however, it is clear that many descendants of this first wave remain refugees in Jordan. Millions of Palestinian refugees are registered as such with United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA). Since its founding in 1946, Jordan has been heavily involved in refugee relations, acquiring important experience and knowledge in the field.

The events of and following 1948 fit Jacobsen's criteria, qualifying the mass migration as a *refugee influx* because thousands of Palestinians came into Jordan in a relatively short period of time. Jordan garnered a *government response*, according to Jacobsen, because it enacted and implemented specific refugee policies.

King Abdullah I of Jordan, the first king of independent Jordan and the former leader of Transjordan, had vested interests in acquiring additional territories for his state. These territories included parts of modern day Syria, Iraq, and Palestine. Abdullah I became interested in acquiring Palestinian territories "when Britain suggested that Palestine might be partitioned between Arabs and Jews and that Abdullah might rule the Arab part."³⁵ Political incentives of governing a united Arab community under Hashemite authority drove Abdullah to annex the West Bank in 1949.³⁶ After Jordan's annexation of the West Bank,³⁷ Abdullah I decided to grant citizenship to the Palestinians to those in the West Bank and those in the East Bank. The monarchy devised land records to "help determine what Palestinians [were] eligible for

³⁵ Mary C. Wilson, "King Abdullah and Palestine," *Bulletin (British Society for Middle Eastern Studies)* 14 no. 1 (1987), 38.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 41.

³⁷ Jordan would occupy the West Bank from 1949 until June 1967 and retain administrative claims until 1988.

residence...by providing who is a ‘legitimate’ West Banker of descendant or such a person.”³⁸

When compared to Jacobsen’s model, the Jordanian land policies fit into the “positive” decision type. First, Jordan’s guarantee of citizenship to the Palestinians demonstrated that Jordan wished to assimilate the refugees into Jordanian culture and politics. However, there is some controversy surrounding these land policies, for some believe that the Jordanian government granted citizenship as an attempt to destroy Palestinian identity.³⁹ Although this citizenship policy falls under Jacobsen’s “positive” policy type, it also carries significant implications that reflect Abdullah’s expansionist mindset.

By October 1950, the Palestinian refugee influx increased the population in Amman, Jordan’s capital, from “50,000 in early 1948 to 120,000.”⁴⁰ The UN Disaster Relief Fund had taken the responsibility of looking after the Palestinian refugees in Jordan, but UNRWA formed in May of 1950, thus taking responsibility of the Palestinians.⁴¹ The fact that Jordan allowed international refugee organizations to operate within its borders further demonstrates its positive policy response. Jacobsen, in her general model for refugee crisis management, specifically mentions, “Islam in particular has strong positive traditions concerning the offering of temporary refuge or asylum from political persecution.”⁴² In addition, Arab tribal traditions’ foundations are in hospitality and providing help to others.⁴³ These two characteristics common in many Arab states serve as a part of the explanation as to why Jordan chooses positive refugee responses.

³⁸ Michael R. Fischbach, “The Implications of Jordanian Land Policy for the West Bank,” *Middle East Journal* 48, no. 3 (Summer 1994), 508.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Beverly Milton-Edwards and Peter Hinchcliffe, *Jordan a Hashemite Legacy* (New York, NY: Routledge 2001), 35.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 35.

⁴² Jacobsen, 668.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

Since UNRWA is an international organization, it inherently is accountable to the international community, which is Jacobsen's first source of pressure put on host governments. To reiterate, the first source of pressure on host governments consists of institutions and individuals in the international community that advocate for the welfare of refugees. Today, UNRWA provides crucial services for the Palestinian refugees, such as education, vocational training, housing, healthcare, and foodstuffs. This relief aid has "proved essential to restart a new life, often from scratch"⁴⁴ for the Palestinian people living in Jordan after 1948. For instance, UNRWA has been the main healthcare provider for the Palestinian refugees in Jordan since 1950. These basic services that UNRWA provides to the Palestinian refugees in Jordan are the results of international pressure on the Jordanian government to cooperate with such organizations.

In a sense, Jordan had no choice but to cooperate with IROs due to its lack of resources, which could strain its political stability. This stream of events reflects Jacobsen's second source of pressure—that from the local community. The Jordanian community recognized its limited *structural ability*, taking into account the nature of its limited physical and economic capacity. For example, Jordan's physical landscape is arid, making only two percent suitable for agriculture. This limited agricultural capacity means that Jordan has to rely heavily on food imports, which denotes higher food prices. This type of structural incapacity, as Jacobsen states, could affect the *willingness* of the local community to host a mass refugee influx.⁴⁵ There may have been pressure from the local community after the 1948 influx for the Jordanian government to negotiate with and accept the assistance from organizations from UNRWA, thus pressuring for

⁴⁴ Jalal Al Hussein, "UNRWA and the Refugees: A Difficult but Lasting Marriage," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 40, no. 1 (Autumn 2010), 14.

⁴⁵ Jacobsen, 666.

a positive policy response toward international refugee organizations.⁴⁶ Arguably, the first and second sources of pressure are the most influential over a government's refugee policy. With the first source, a host government faces the scrutiny and potential ostracism from the international community. The local community is the most affected source of pressure because the refugee crisis directly affects its access to key resources like food, water, and shelter.

Jacobsen's model discusses refugee repatriation in her analysis of state responses to refugee crises. A positive response would be the host country actively pursuing and streamlining the repatriation process. However, a negative response concerning repatriation would be for the host country to force refugees to return to their home countries or to make it extremely difficult to stay in its own country by placing barriers to complicate finding residency or employment.⁴⁷ Jordan, in response to the 1948 wave of Palestinians, did not make its decisions based on black and white circumstances. The government ultimately carried out a blend of the above referenced policies concerning repatriation. Since King Abdullah I annexed the West Bank in 1950, Jordan had control over those 700,000 Palestinians who fled from the newly partitioned Israel. The Palestinians in Jordan had "no strong affinity to the Hashemites,"⁴⁸ and this dissonance contributed to the varying policy approaches. While the king wished to gain administration over more people to expand the Hashemite kingdom, many Palestinians wished to return to their homes. Even though the Jordanian monarchy granted citizenship to hundreds of thousands of Palestinians, "this lack of a cohesive ethnic or religious base has given the Hashemites myriad of difficulties in shaping a national entity,"⁴⁹ making it even more difficult to implement a utilitarian settlement policy. The East Bankers, those native to Jordan before its independence,

⁴⁶ Held and Cummings, 142.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 659.

⁴⁸ Lawrence Tal, "Is Jordan Doomed?" *Foreign Affairs* 72, no. 5 (November/December 1993), 46.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

and the Palestinians clashed from the beginning of the 1948 refugee influx. King Hussein, a grandson of King Abdullah I, attempted to resolve the tension between East Bankers and West Bankers by “co-opting leaders of prominent families and tribes into his government.”⁵⁰ Under King Hussein, Jordan held parliamentary elections in 1989; these were the first elections since the 1950s. Jordan held these elections in an attempt to begin political liberalization through free elections.⁵¹ This political integration aligns with Jacobsen’s model in that it indirectly made it easier for Palestinians to integrate into Jordanian society through easing the insecurities of their opponents.

By comparing the 1948 wave of Palestinian refugees to the Jacobsen model, it is clear that Jordan had positive responses to the refugee influx. The positive responses have led to largely positive outcomes for the refugees. There are millions of Palestinians in Jordan many of whom are direct descendants of the 1948 refugee influx.⁵² The Jordanian government is one of the only governments to fully integrate Palestinians into its sociopolitical environment. The government did so with the 1948 refugee influx by permitting them citizenship and permanent residency, and these policies set the precedent for subsequent refugee waves that would confront Jordan in the future.

1967 Palestinian Refugees

The main event that triggered the second major influx of refugees into Jordan was the Six Day War of 1967. This conflict led around 300,000 Palestinian refugees to surge into Jordan seeking asylum.⁵³ The war lasted from June 5 to June 10, 1967, and the belligerents signed a

⁵⁰ Ibid., 47.

⁵¹ Curtis R. Ryan, “Jordan’s Unfinished Journey: Parliamentary Elections and the State of Reform,” *POMED: Project on Middle East Democracy*, March 2013, accessed April 22, 2016, <http://pomед.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/POMED-Policy-Brief-Ryan.pdf>.

⁵² As of July 2014, there are 2,097,338 registered refugees in Jordan according to UNRWA.

⁵³ Philip Robins, *A History of Jordan* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 124.

ceasefire on June 11, 1967. On one side was Israel and on the other were Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Iraq, and Lebanon. The Arab side of the conflict “talked of launching a people’s war of liberation to solve the Palestine problem,” which led to the Israeli attack on the West Bank village of Samu on November 13, 1966.⁵⁴ This attack on Jordanian occupied territory subsequently led to a sharp division between Palestinians and the Jordanian government, for it “exposed the relative weakness of [Jordan’s] army...[and demonstrated its] inability to protect [the Palestinians], or provide them with the means to protect themselves.”⁵⁵ The lack of trust between the Palestinians and the Jordanian government continued until the war broke out in 1967.

Ultimately, the Six Day War resulted in Jordan’s loss of the West Bank and East Jerusalem to Israeli control. On June 5th, the Jordanian military, along with forces from Egypt and Syria, foolishly attacked Israeli forces, and by June 8th, Israel had taken the West Bank. Following the events at Samu, this additional blow to Jordan’s military strength exacerbated the divide between Jordan and the Palestinians.⁵⁶ Jordan lost 40 percent of its gross domestic product (GDP), 50 percent of its industrial capacity, and 25 percent of its arable land after it lost control of the West Bank.⁵⁷ The Six Day War would be one of Jordan’s last attempts to “determine the trend for the region [and]...channel its efforts into trying to bring about the necessary circumstances to prevent war and to expedite diplomacy.”⁵⁸ Domestic constraints and conflicts soon shadowed Jordan’s epiphany concerning its role in Middle Eastern relations.

⁵⁴Richard B. Parker, “The June 1967 War: Some Mysteries Explored,” *Middle East Journal* 46, no. 2 (Spring 1992): 178.

⁵⁵ Robins, 122.

⁵⁶ Parker, 180.

⁵⁷ Robins, 126.

⁵⁸ Ibid. **Jordan and Israel signed a peace treaty in 1994. Its general principles include, respect of each other’s sovereignty, right to secure and recognized boundaries, good neighborly relations, and political independence.

Palestinians flooded by the tens of thousands into Jordan after Israel retook the West Bank. In general, other Arab states have “formally resisted resettlement or naturalization as a solution to the refugee problem,”⁵⁹ distinguishing them from Jordan’s positive refugee policies. Following the 1967 war, Jordan allowed Palestinians across its borders once again. However, the refugees remained in camps—mainly the Jerash camp to the north of Amman.⁶⁰ The 1967 wave did not receive residency rights from the Jordanian government, which demonstrates a key change in policy type—according to the Jacobsen model. Jordan did not grant the 1967 refugees citizenship like it did for the 1948 refugees because it was under the pretext that the Palestinians would return to Palestinian territories. They had the right to return, so the government avoided structural costs associated with providing citizenship to mass numbers of refugees.⁶¹ This policy change took an administrative hold when King Hussein “call[ed] for ‘administrative disengagement’ from the occupied territories in 1988.”⁶² Hussein’s negative policy included making Palestinian residents’ in the West Bank passports temporary rather than a proof of citizenship.⁶³ This stricter regulation made it so Jordan considered Palestinians from the West Bank only to be travelers, and Jordan required the refugees to have visas to remain in the country. These new restrictions also affected the West Bankers who resided in Jordan already, for it revoked their access to work in the public sector, to social benefits, and government

⁵⁹ Abbas Shibliak, “Residency Status and Civil Rights of Palestinian Refugees in Arab Countries,” *Journal of Palestine Studies* 25, no. 3 (Spring 1996): 39.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 40. This is in contrast to Egypt’s policy toward Palestinians. Egypt denied entry to thousands before the refugees fled to Jordan.

⁶¹ Jacobsen, 659.

⁶² Shibliak, 41.

⁶³ 1988 was the year in which Jordan formally gave up its claim over the West Bank that had been a major political goal for the Hashemites since the early 20th century.

services.⁶⁴ According to Jacobsen's model, Hussein's 1988 regulations reveals a shift from a positive to a negative policy type on Jordan's part.

The loss of the West Bank in 1967, as aforementioned, was a significant economic loss and a burden to Jordan. Jordan had "allocated about one-third of the Development Budget to the West Bank," which the Israeli occupation of the West Bank squandered. This loss combined with the mass influx of refugees strained Jordan's structural capacity to absorb negative costs. To deal with these costs on Jordan's economy, the international community responded to the refugee crisis by providing foreign aid in the form of grants and other forms of financial aid.⁶⁵ Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Libya pooled their funds and "provid[ed] an annual grant of 40 million pounds sterling (\$112 million)"⁶⁶ to Jordan in the wake of its massive economic losses. The United States gave aid to benefit refugees, and West Germany also gave to the refugees in addition to further assistance for Jordan's development projects—amounting to \$59 million.⁶⁷ Assistance from the international community compelled Jordan to continue its relatively positive refugee policies. When compared to Jacobsen's model, it is clear that international influence played a significant role in Jordan's decision-making and capacity to deal with the 1967 refugee influx.

According to Jacobsen's refugee commentary, "A community's historical experience both with earlier refugee influxes and as refugees themselves is likely to influence its receptiveness."⁶⁸ This statement directly relates to Jordan's developing status as a refugee state, as mass waves of refugees have consistently flowed into Jordan. Furthermore, it points out that

⁶⁴ Shiblak, 41.

⁶⁵ E. Kanovsky, "The Economic Aftermath of the Six Day War: Uar, Jordan, and Syria, Part II," *Middle East Journal* 22, no. 3 (Summer 1968): 294.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Jacobsen, 669.

the community in the host country pressures the host government to make certain decisions. For example, the aforementioned issue of national identity for Palestinians continues to be a problem since the 1948 refugee influx. East Bank nationals support the idea of an independent Palestinian state and that Palestinians “should get Palestinian passports once there is a state, and should only receive Jordanian citizenship if they apply for it and are accepted.”⁶⁹ This reluctance from Jordanian nationals to assimilate Palestinians constitutes an influential pressure on the Jordanian monarchy.

Contemporary Palestinian-Jordanian Relations

The relationship between the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and the Jordanian government demonstrates the importance of Jacobsen’s other two sources of pressure—other than the international community. The Arab League created the PLO to encompass “all Palestinian organizations—commando groups, trade unions, professional associations, as well as national figures.”⁷⁰ These parts of the PLO gather and collaborate to achieve Palestinians’ interests. Today, however, the PLO does not include Hamas of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, which were meant to liberate Palestinian territories from Israel and to destroy the state of Israel, respectively. The Arab League established the PLO in 1964 to organize the Palestinian liberation cause across national borders, including Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, Kuwait, and others. The PLO’s overarching goal has evolved to embrace an autonomous Palestinian state through its own military, finance, politics, and administration.⁷¹ In the early 1970s, the Jordanian government and the PLO clashed, for Jordan “forbade PLO political, military and other mobilization activities within its territories.” This policy, that directly impacted refugees in Jordan, exemplifies the mixed policy types that Jordan implemented.

⁶⁹ Rosemary Hollis, “Still Waiting,” *The World Today* 56, no. 6 (June 2000): 22.

⁷⁰ Rashid Hamid, “What is the PLO?” *Journal of Palestine Studies* 4, no. 4 (Summer 1975): 90.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 96.

When the relationship between the Jordanian monarchy and the East Bankers wavers, the monarchy goes to great lengths to salvage and ease the relationship. The PLO has strained the relationship by widening the gap between the traditional Hashemites and the Palestinian condition. The civil war, known as Black September, began in September of 1970 and continued until July of 1971 between the PLO and the Jordanian monarchy. Several negative conditions led to the outbreak of the civil war, including inequitable job opportunities for Palestinians and misrepresented seats in parliament. Gerrymandered electoral districts, and discrimination toward Palestinians.⁷² The Jordanian government won the civil war, and most leading member of the PLO retreated to Lebanon.⁷³ Despite the monarchy's victory over the PLO in the 1980s and 1990s, King Hussein "moved toward a limited democracy, balancing the interests of his 'guest' Palestinian constituents" and indigenous Jordanians.⁷⁴ Hussein's proposal of a limited democracy, a system where the king "expanded political limits but still controlled the [election] process," was an attempt to subdue and prevent future uprisings and dissent from Palestinians.⁷⁵

As a result of the limited democracy, the Jordanian monarchy has the power to gloss over Palestinian representation in favor of the tribal candidates.⁷⁶ Since the end of Black September, Palestinian popular protests and demonstrations have been small and infrequent. However, those known as the East Bankers, indigenous Jordanians, have protested against and blamed Palestinians for the rising cost of living and the spread of corruption. They expressed their

⁷² International Crisis Group, *The Middle East: Dallying With Reform in a Divided Jordan*, accessed April 22, 2016, <http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/Middle%20East%20North%20Africa/Iran%20Gulf/Jordan/118-popular-protest-in-north-africa-and-the-middle-east-ix-dallying-with-reform-in-a-divided-jordan.pdf>.

⁷³ Colbert C. Held and John Thomas Cummings, *Middle East Patterns: Places, Peoples, and Politics*, 6th ed. (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2014), 347.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 348.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ Ellen Knickmeyer and Yasmin Mousa, "Jordan's Limited Democracy Leaves Voters Discontented," *The Washington Post*, November 20, 2007, accessed January 24, 2016, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/11/19/AR2007111901497.html>.

dissent on a day known as the Day of Anger in 2011.⁷⁷ Other regional Arab Spring movement inspired thousands of Jordanians to gather all over the country to show their disdain of economic and political policies.⁷⁸ It is a widely known fact that the Palestinians dominate the private, business sector of the Jordanian economy, and the indigenous Jordanians dominate the public sector.⁷⁹ The ethnic divide within the Jordanian economy has caused political disparities between the often wealthier Palestinians and the indigenous Jordanians. The International Crisis Group described that several of the people's grievances concerned government corruption among "a narrow business-state elite...[that] enrich[ed] itself through corrupt privatization deals,"⁸⁰ claiming government favoritism for the Palestinians involved in the private sector. In response to the Day of Anger protests, King Abdullah II, son of King Hussein, "slashed prices and taxes on some foods and fuels...to help ease the burden on the poor," demonstrating that the king was engaged and constructively responsive to the demands of five thousand protestors.⁸¹

Iraqi Refugees

Less than ten years passed from King Hussein's formal renunciation of Jordan's claims over the West Bank to yet another wave of refugees—this time from Iraq. There are two major Iraqi refugee influxes between the 1990s and the early 2000s; these influxes were the results of the Gulf War and the 2003 Iraq War, respectively. Jordan's history as a state of asylum for

⁷⁷ The 2011 Arab Spring, the movement of popular protest calling for individual freedoms and a ban on government corruption, exacerbated the

⁷⁸ International Crisis Group, "Popular Protest in North Africa and the Middle East: Dallying With Reform in a Divided Jordan," *Middle East/North Africa Report* (March 2012), accessed April 22, 2016, <http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/Middle%20East%20North%20Africa/Iran%20Gulf/Jordan/118-popular-protest-in-north-africa-and-the-middle-east-ix-dallying-with-reform-in-a-divided-jordan.pdf>

⁷⁹ Curtis R. Ryan, *Jordan in Transition: From Hussein to Abdullah* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers Inc., 2002), 9.

⁸⁰ International Crisis Group, "Popular Protest."

⁸¹ Johnny McDevitt, "Jordanians Protest Against Souring Food Prices," *The Guardian*, January 14, 2011, accessed November 22, 2015, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/jan/15/jordanians-protest-over-food-prices>.

refugees shaped its policies toward future waves that it would face in the future. The 1990-1991 Gulf War led “[one] million Iraqis and foreigners working in Iraq” to flee to Jordan in two months.⁸² The Gulf War started in August of 1990 as a result of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. The Iraqi invasion led to incredible scrutiny from the international community, so much so that the United Nations imposed an embargo on Iraq.⁸³

The UN trade embargo on Iraq is a significant demonstration on how the international community can have an influential impact on government decision-making. The embargo “had a particularly severe effect on Iraq’s economy and food security levels of the population,” causing about a million people to leave Iraq. According to UNICEF (United Nations Children’s Emergency Fund), the per capita income in Iraq dropped from \$3510 in 1989 to \$450 in 1996.”⁸⁴ Not being able to import its regular food supply, Iraq introduced a food rationing system of 1,000 per day per person; furthermore, the Iraqi population then became dependent on the food rations for survival.⁸⁵ This massive reduction in per capita income and the heightened food insecurity served as catalysts to the Iraqi exodus to Jordan in the early 1990s.

By 2002 the UNHCR estimated about 300,000 Iraqis in Jordan, which had a population of 5,000,000 at the time.⁸⁶ This Iraqi migration qualifies, under Jacobsen’s criteria, as a *refugee influx*, for it occurred within two short months. The following section demonstrates that Jordan’s policies toward Iraqi refugees underwent an evolution—from initially unresponsive, to negative, to positive government responses.

⁸² Géraldine Chatelard, “What Visibility Conceals: Re-embedding Refugee Migration from Iraq,” in *Dispossession and Displacement: Forced Migration in the Middle East and North Africa*, ed. Dawn Chatty and Bill Finlayson (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 22.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ UNICEF, “Evaluation report: 2003 IRQ: Iraq Watching Briefs—Overview Report, July 2003,” UNICEF, July 2003, accessed March 28, 2016, http://www.unicef.org/evaldatabase/index_29697.html.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Iraqis, who left after the beginning of the 1990 Gulf War, were those from educated, middle class families with sufficient resources to facilitate their journey.

The border between Jordan and Iraq remained relatively porous, for “Jordanian authorities...barely acknowledged the presence and transit of this vast number of migrants.”⁸⁷ Jacobsen’s model would constitute this government reaction as nonresponsive. However, this seemingly unresponsive government reaction to the mass refugee influx proved to be a façade put on by the Jordanian government. The government instead pushed the “Jordanian public [and] foreign and national relief agencies...to [concentrate] their operations on the poorer sectors of the Jordanian population.”⁸⁸ The monarchy pushed third parties to focus aid and resources on other groups other than the Iraqi refugees, diverting attention away from the crisis. Jordan made these negative policy decisions to attempt to channel the effects of international pressure on its actions. These negative policy decisions included funneling international aid to different sectors of the Jordanian population other than the new refugee population and failing to recognize Iraqis as refugees but guests instead. However, it allowed refugees to cross its borders and inhabit its territories regardless. Under Jacobsen’s model, the fact that the Jordanian government continued to permit the refugees to come in to the country reinforces the idea that its policy types toward refugees remained relatively positive. Jordan’s government response to Iraqi refugees went through an evolution—from non-responsive to negative, to positive. The negative response was a reaction to Jordan’s threatened resources and structural capacity to cope. It was not, however, a sustained policy response because Jordan eventually engaged in negotiations with international organizations, like the UN, to attain additional resources. The complete evolution of Jordan’s response to both Iraqi refugee crises does not define Jordan’s positive response type until the end of the 2003 Iraqi refugee influx has run its course—around 2009.

⁸⁷ Chatelard, 22-23.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 23. These poorer sectors include Palestinian refugees from the 1948 and 1967 influxes.

The effects of the 1990 Gulf War refugee crisis in Jordan rolled over into the next Iraqi refugee crisis that came with the United States' invasion of Iraq in 2003. The 2003 refugee influx strained Jordan's economic and social capacity even further than the 1990 influx. The United States' policies toward its invasion of Iraq were meant to restructure Iraqi systems and society, "creating the Iraq that this policy...imagined."⁸⁹ For instance, US forces preserved and protected those Iraqi institutions and systems that would serve US interests "while allowing facilities critical to either Iraqi state functionality or national cohesion to be looted down to the office furniture."⁹⁰ This 'imagined community' led to the collapse of Iraqi institutions and social cohesion by putting sectarian and foreign policy objectives before a functioning state.⁹¹

The state that the United States tried to create eliminated the Iraqi people's sense of security and safety, causing them to leave Iraq *en masse*. The 2003 war in Iraq caused as many as 2.2 million people to exit Iraq—most of them seeking refuge in Syria and Jordan.⁹² Of those, between 450,000 and 750,000 Iraqis came to Jordan. There has been significant debate between the Jordanian government and international organizations, like the UN, as to the exact numbers of refugees that came to Jordan after 2003. Nonetheless, this mass migration of Iraqis into Jordan qualifies as a mass refugee influx under Jacobsen's model. As discussed previously, according to Géraldine Chatelard, there are two motivations that drive the Jordanian government's perception of the refugees' presence:

...a vision of their [the refugees'] role as predators on the scarce natural and economic resources of Jordan and a primary force in driving up prices of goods

⁸⁹ Nabil Al-Tikriti, "There Go the Neighbourhoods: Policy Effects vis-à-vis Iraqi Forced Migration," in *Dispossession and Displacement: Forced Migration in the Middle East and North Africa*, ed. Dawn Chatty and Bill Finlayson (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 259.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Ibid., 261.

⁹² Chatelard, 19.

and properties legitimizes claims to international assistance to ‘relieve’ the burden on Jordan.⁹³

Host governments often confront this type of dilemma—to exaggerate the numbers to get more aid or to protect resources. In these types of situations, pressure comes from both the host government to international organizations and from the Jordanian people to the government, calling for solutions to resource shortages, or Jacobsen’s structural capacity.

The Jordanian government’s history of attempting to appease and include both the Palestinians and the East Bankers has demonstrated its dedication to minimizing the negative effects of mass migration. While King Hussein took an interest in Palestinian refugees as political and territorial assets, the refugee crisis that transpires as a result of the US invasion of Iraq led the monarchy to view refugees as a “security or economic issue rather than a humanitarian one.”⁹⁴ The government became more concerned with its ability to absorb hundreds of thousands of new residents. This shift in the perception of refugees is further explored in subsequent sections with statements from the Jordanian Minister of Interior.

International aid, like the United States Agency for International Development’s (USAID) school program, began to seek cooperation from the Jordanian government to supplement Jordan’s already sparse resources.⁹⁵ The monarchy dealt with and received the Iraqi refugees with an attitude of tolerance rather than one of acceptance like with the Palestinians in the 20th century. In the early 2000s, the Jordanian government considered the refugees “guests,”

⁹³ Chatelard, 31.

⁹⁴ Nicholas Seeley, “The Politics of Aid to Iraqi Refugees in Jordan,” *Middle East Report* no. 256 (Fall 2010): 39.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

denoting the temporary nature of their stay in Jordan.⁹⁶ Despite their status as “guests” in Jordan, the Iraqi refugees garnered much international attention and international aid. This international aid came in the form of direct monetary donations and assistance from nongovernmental organizations (NGO). Some scholars, like Jeff Crisp of the University of Oxford Refugee Studies Centre, assert that there is a politics to the numerical estimates of refugees that host countries posit. Crisp states that host governments inflate the number of refugees in their countries to

...embarrass the government of the country of asylum and to besmirch its human rights record; to attract large amounts of humanitarian assistance into the country, which can then be siphoned off to members of the political, military and business elite; to provide employment to large numbers of bureaucrats and refugee camp workers, many of whom would otherwise be without work or an income; to ensure a generous supply of food and other relief items to exiled groups which are engaged in political and military campaigns against their country of origin; to maximize the amount of foreign exchange brought into the country by humanitarian agencies, which can subsequently be converted at rates favourable to the government; and to cast the most favourable light possible on the country's commitment to humanitarian norms, thereby bolstering its international reputation and external support.⁹⁷

Jordan received intense international attention for the Iraqi refugee crisis of 2003 and onward, but some accused its government of “hijack[ing] the aid and redirect[ing] it toward favored national programs.”⁹⁸ Jordan acted within the bounds of tolerance, using international assistance to its benefit.

In 2007, the Jordanian Minister of Interior, Id al-Fayiz, made this distinction of Iraqis seeking asylum in Jordan, “refus[ing] to label Iraqis in Jordan as refugees, but rather brethren and guests in the kingdom with full respect until their ordeal ends...[and

⁹⁶ Also complicates the estimation of the number of refugees in the state. Complicates the process for international organizations to distribute their resources efficiently and equitably.

⁹⁷ Jeff Crisp, “Who's counting the Refugees? The UNHCR and the politics of numbers,” Working paper no. 12, Policy Research Unit UNHCR, June 1999, accessed January 25, 2016, <http://www.unhcr.org/3ae6a0c22.pdf>.

⁹⁸ Seeley, 38.

they are] allow[ed] to go back to their country.”⁹⁹ Al-Fayiz’s statement is a representation and demonstration of Jordan’s sometimes mixed policy types toward refugees. Jordan permitted refugees to cross its borders and to somewhat assimilate into its community; however, it stressed the economic strain that the Iraqis put on Jordan, thus fortifying its reluctance to recognize them officially as refugees. By granting official refugee status to Iraqis, Jordan would be responsible for providing certain services under UNHCR regulations. The 1951 Refugee Convention officially defined who qualified as a refugee and what their respective rights were as such. Article thirty-three in the 1951 convention details the principle of *refoulement*. The *refoulement* principle prohibits host countries from refugee expulsion from or forcible return to the origin country if their lives or freedom “would be threatened on account of his race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular group or political opinion.”¹⁰⁰ This is the type of issue that the convention addresses, but Jordan was not a signatory at the time of the post-2003 refugee influx and is not one as of 2016. If Jordan was a signatory, then the provisions therein per international law would bind it to these types of responsibilities. Despite the fact that Jordan is not a member of the 1951 UN convention concerning refugees, its policy types remained within Jacobsen’s positive policy classification by allowing refugees to cross its borders, tolerating mild assimilation, and cooperating with international refugee organizations during the Iraqi refugee influxes.

⁹⁹ BBC, “Jordanian minister says Iraqis ‘guests,’ not refugees,” BBC Monitoring Middle East, May 15, 2007.

¹⁰⁰ UNHCR, “Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees,” UNHCR, December 2010, accessed April 3, 2016, <http://www.unhcr.org/protect/PROTECTION/3b66c2aa10.pdf>.

Syrian Refugees: 2011 to the Present

The current refugee crisis is largely a result of the Syrian Civil War, which started in 2011. Millions of Syrians displaced Syrians have fled their homes to escape the brutal conflict between rebels and President Bashar al-Assad's government. As of February 2015, over 622,000 Syrians have registered as refugees in Jordan.¹⁰¹ In 2015 Jordan's population was 8.1 million according to the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) World Factbook. The CIA inflated the size of the Jordanian population to include the increased flow of Syrian refugees into Jordan.¹⁰²

The Syrian Civil War began during the Arab Spring when the Syrian people held several popular uprisings that turned violent in March of 2011. Between March and December 2011, the UN high commissioner for human rights "estimated that more than 4,000 people, including 307 children have been killed...since the uprising erupted against the government of President Bashar al-Assad,"¹⁰³ and the government has detained about 14,000 people.¹⁰⁴ The original protests demanded that al-Assad's government embrace democratic political reforms, shadowing the protests in Egypt and Tunisia. In March 2011 the Arab Spring seemed like a promising platform from which comprehensive political reform could arise. However, the Syrian government "started firing live ammunition at crowds... [and] arresting and torturing protestors,"¹⁰⁵

¹⁰¹ Luigi Achilli, "Syrian Refugees in Jordan: A Reality Check," European University Institute, February 2015, accessed November 22, 2015,

http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/34904/MPC_2015-02_PB.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

¹⁰² CIA, "Jordan," CIA World Factbook, accessed April 4, 2016, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/jo.html>.

¹⁰³ Nada Bakri, "U.N. Human Rights Official Calls for Intervention in Syria," *New York Times*, December 3, 2011.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ The Guardian, "The Guardian view on Syria: the people return to the streets against Assad; All attention has been on Isis. But the moment a truce gave Syrians scope to protest, they remind the world that this is a war that began with a dictator," *The Guardian*, March 17, 2016.

In addition, Jordan has constructed several Syrian refugee camps, such as Zaatari in Amman. King Abdullah II has worked closely with international organizations, like UNHCR, to manage the huge refugee influxes it receives every day. Jordan has established naturalization processes for Palestinians, refugee camps for Syrians, and several other mechanisms for managing refugee crises. These actions have demonstrated Jordan's relatively hospitable nature towards refugee populations. However, Jordan's resources, already environmentally and economically limited, have become even more strained after generations of refugee crises.

In line with Jacobsen's three sources of pressure (international, local, and refugee), King Abdullah II has expressed the strain that Syrian refugees have had on Jordan's services, infrastructure, and economy. Before a donor conference on the Syrian conflict in February 2016, Abdullah II stated, "it's [the refugee crisis] gotten to a boiling point... [and] sooner or later...the dam is going to burst."¹⁰⁶ He called on the international community to offer additional assistance if Jordan was to continue to accept Syrian refugees. The Jordanian government cannot hope to assimilate Syrians into the job market without providing similar opportunities to Jordanians. Providing all working-age Syrians with work permits could take jobs away from Jordanians, which could lead to popular unrest and potential violent demonstrations. To solve this dilemma, Abdullah II promised Jordanians "For every job the government offered Syrian refugees, it would create five jobs for Jordanians."¹⁰⁷ In this scenario, it is pressure from Jordan's local community, as a result of structural limitations, that is putting the most pressure on government decisions. At the conference, the UN stated that it sought \$7.7 billion to "fund aid operations for

¹⁰⁶ Lyse Doucet, "Syria conflict: Jordanians 'at boiling point' over refugees," BBC, February 2, 2016, accessed April 22, 2016, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-35462698>.

¹⁰⁷ Rana F. Sweis, "Jordan Struggles Under a Wave of Syrian Refugees," *New York Times*, February 13, 2016, accessed April 22, 2016, <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/02/14/world/middleeast/jordan-syria-refugees.html>.

22.5 million people in Syria and neighbouring countries next year.”¹⁰⁸ The king has asked for international assistance to handle the crisis, aligning with Jacobsen’s model having to do with international components. Donors pledged to give “\$2.1 billion to Jordan over the next three years;”¹⁰⁹ however, Jordan stated that the aid would come with certain stipulations, like jobs for 200,000 Syrians. Because the monarchy has reached out to the international community,¹¹⁰ namely the hosts of the conference (United Kingdom, Germany, Norway, Kuwait, and the UN), it further demonstrates its positive policy type and willingness to find solutions to the current crisis.

Jordanian Case and Jacobsen’s Model

Making comprehensive, equitable, and efficient refugee policy is incredibly difficult because the government must take into consideration economic, political, social, and humanitarian issues simultaneously. Refugee absorption demands that the host country be able to structurally, fiscally, and socially accept mass numbers of people. Irrefutably, Jordan has confronted these types of issues—as aforementioned, housing shortages and social unrest. King Hussein’s restrictions on Palestinian passports in the late 1980s and King Abdullah II’s policies that diverted the international community’s attention away from the Iraqi refugee crisis were examples of negative policy types according to Jacobsen’s model. However, these negative policies were almost a direct reaction to Jordan’s own sparse resources. King Hussein’s passport regulations after his 1988 renunciation of claims over the West Bank were a response Jordan’s inability to permanently accept Palestinians. He made these regulations with the expectation that Palestinians would eventually return to the West Bank. By diverting the international

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ The international community is also attempting to deal with the Syrian refugee crisis, which has spread to European countries. See Appendix B for a map detailing the number of Syrians in neighboring countries and Europe.

community's attention away from the Iraqi refugee crisis, the Jordanian government was able to funnel international aid to the poorer members of the Jordanian population. These negative, according to Jacobsen, policy types were not because Jordan did not have the desire or will to tolerate and accept refugees; they were because the refugees threatened to overwhelm Jordan's stability and capacity to absorb large numbers of people.

Jordan's positive policy decisions are its attempts to manage these capacity issues it faced with the Iraqis and Palestinians and continues to face with the Syrian refugees.¹¹¹ These positive policies are demonstrations of Jordan's consistent, accepting, and solution-driven mindset when dealing with refugees. Though the Jordanian monarchy exhibited some remnants of negative policy types, according to Jacobsen's model, its ultimate policy type is positive. Jordan's laws and cooperation with international organizations clearly demonstrate its dedication to easing refugee relations as much as it is able according to its economic, political, and social capacity.

Figure 1. The Applied Jacobsen Model

<i>Jacobsen Model Pressures</i>	<i>Palestinians 1948</i>	<i>Palestinians 1967</i>	<i>Iraqis 1990s-2000s</i>	<i>Syrians 2011-Present</i>
International	--	Strong	Moderate	Strong
Local	--	Moderate	Moderate (allowed refugees to assimilate)	Strong
Refugees	--	--	Moderate	Strong
<i>Policy Type</i>				
Non-responsive	--	--	Yes	--
Positive	Yes	Yes (international aid)	Yes (international aid; "guests")	Yes (international aid; camps; work permits)
Negative	--	Yes (temporary passports)	--	--

¹¹¹ Note the element in Jacobsen's model that refers to the structural ability of the host country to absorb and deal with mass refugee influxes. A host country's structural ability is determined by economic capacity, international assistance, and the local community's willingness to accommodate refugees.

Conclusion

The model of host government decision making outlined in Karen Jacobsen's paper, "Factors Influencing the Policy Responses of Host Governments to Mass Refugee Influxes," is a concise, all-inclusive set of guidelines that help evaluate Jordan's approach to refugee influxes. Her model is not overly complex, for it only identifies three policy types that host governments usually adopt—positive, negative, or non-reactant. However, it breaks down those three policy types into three additional categories that are easily defined and recognized. As discussed in the theory section of this paper, these three subcategories are legal-bureaucratic responses, involvement of international refugee organizations, and the admission and treatment of refugees.¹¹² Overwhelmingly, Jordan has chosen and implemented refugee policy that aligns with Jacobsen's positive policy types. Jordan's constitution outlines procedures for refugee assimilation, admits asylum seekers, cooperates with the UNHCR to facilitate repatriation, and attempts to establish the potential for local settlement or permanent residence. Ultimately, Jordan has undergone an evolution, involving some trial and error, to an overwhelmingly positive policy response to mass refugee influxes. This may be a fascinating topic for further research—whether Jordan became path dependent upon its decisions it made with the 1948 Palestinian refugee wave. The positive policies that Jordan implemented, like granting Palestinians Jordanian citizenship, were practical and territorially strategic at the time but persisted through subsequent refugee influxes. This path dependence might explain why Jordan has continued to pursue a positive policy type throughout its history of refugee influxes.

Because Jacobsen's model is clean cut and intelligible, one is able to recognize and define Jordan's general positive policy attitude. Her model will aid the international community as a whole in distinguishing and identifying governments', not just Jordan's, refugee policy

¹¹² See Appendix A for the full chart of Jacobsen's possible state responses.

decision making. Jacobsen points out “changes taking place in both the local community and the international arena will affect policymaking, as do the shifting linkages between the government, the local community, and the international organizations.”¹¹³ This statement successfully highlights the main benefit that her model provides—to help both the international community and host governments cope with the growing refugee burden.

¹¹³ Jacobsen, 674.

Appendix A

Jacobsen Model Outline

REFUGEE INFLUXES IN THE THIRD WORLD

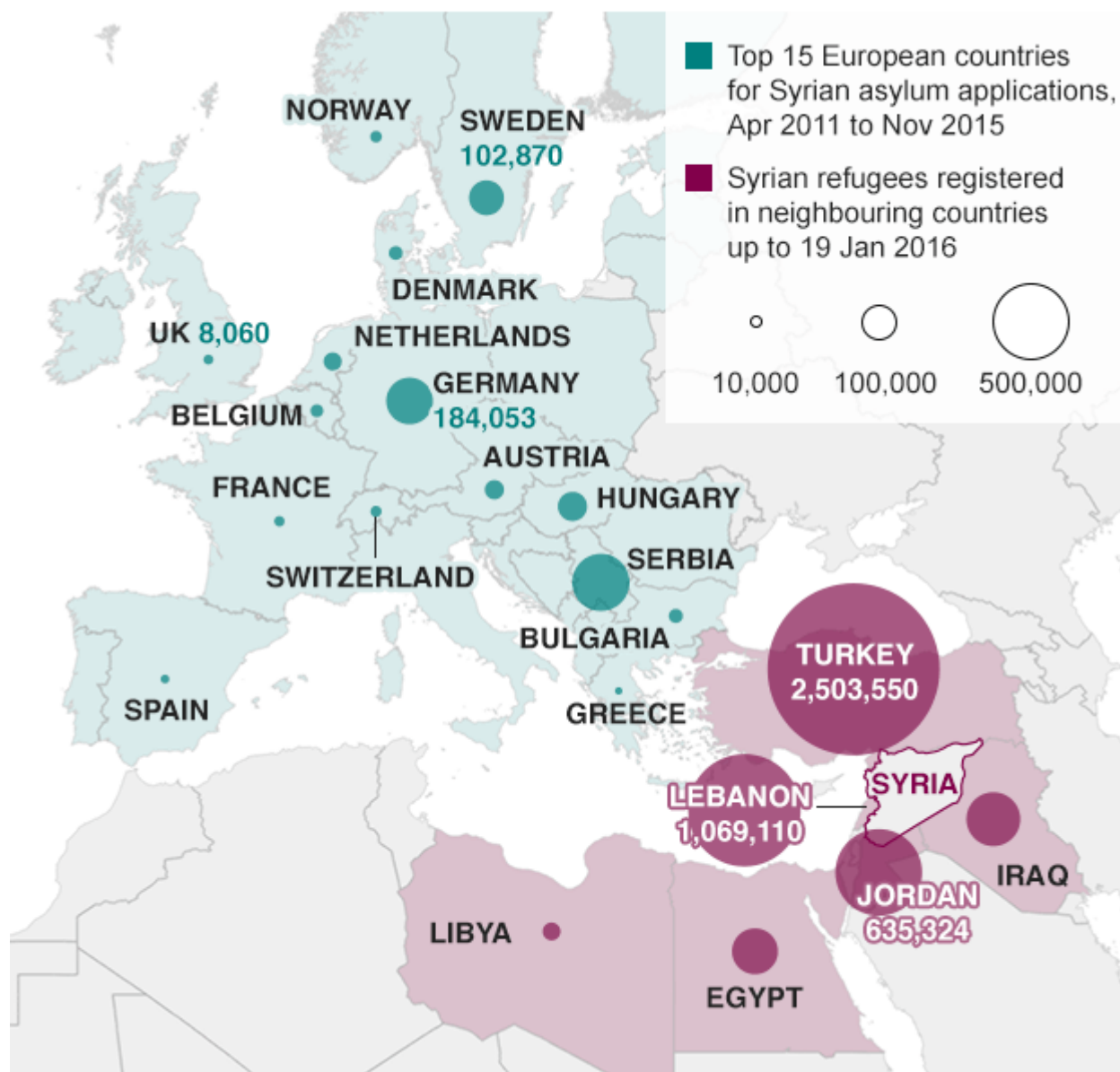
659

TABLE 1
U.N. POLICY YARDSTICK: REFUGEE POLICY DECISIONS AND POSSIBLE STATE RESPONSES

Policy Type	Positive Response	Negative Response
(United Nations Recommendations)		
I. Legal-Bureaucratic response		
Accede to international instruments, conventions, etc?	Yes, or accession equivalent	No accession
Define asylum seekers as refugees?	Yes	No; define asylum seekers as 'aliens,' etc.
Create separate bureaucratic authority responsible for refugees?	Yes	No, refugee affairs handled by army
Procedures for determination of refugee status?	Yes, proper procedures including legislation, appeal, etc	No proper procedures
II. International Refugee Organizations (IROs)		
Grant IROs permission to assist refugees?	IROs permitted into country	IROs excluded
Cooperate with or restrict IROs?	UNHCR permitted access to affected areas; cooperation	Restricted or no access; poor cooperation
III. Admission and Treatment of Refugees.		
Admit asylum seekers appearing at border?	Yes	No
Screen refugees?	No; or yes, in accordance with UNHCR regulations	Yes, but not in accordance with UNHCR
Location of refugees?	Refugees allowed to choose camps or self-settlement	Refugees forced to live in camps
Rights of and restrictions on refugees?	More rights (including freedom of movement, employment), no discrimination	More restrictions (on movement, employment) and discrimination
Refugee protection?	Emphasize physical safety; camps at safe distance from border; civilian nature of camps is maintained	Protection of camps frequently violated; combatants in camps; military recruitment of refugees
Repatriation?	Voluntary; according to UNHCR recommendations	Involuntary or forced; violations of UNHCR recommendations
Treatment of long-term refugees?	Potential for local settlement or permanent residence	No such local potential; refugees remain in camps

Appendix B

Syrians in Neighboring Countries and Europe



Source: UNHCR

BBC

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